

Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 03280 081621Z

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2602

S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 3280

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFEELE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (SCHAUFEELE, WILLIAM, T)

SUBJECT: TALK WITH NYERERE

1. I MET WITH NYERERE THIS AFTERNOON AND OPENED WITH TALKING
POINTS YOU DISCUSSED WITH ME BEFORE YOUR DEPARTURE FROM LONDON
COVERING:

A. DIFFICULTIES IN DEALING WITH SOUTH AFRICA;

B. REASONABLE CERTAINTY THAT WE CAN NOW PERSUADE SAG TO AGREE
TO THREE POINTS DISCUSSED EARLIER, I.E., MOVING TALKS TO GENEVA,
THE PARTICIPATION OF SWAPO AND A FIXED DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE;

C. OUR WILLINGNESS TO HAND OVER TO SAG, FOR ITS CONSIDERATION,
LIST OF SWAPO POLITICAL PRISONERS BUT WITHOUT ASSURANCE THAT
ANY WOULD BE RELEASED;

D. YOUR READINESS DISCUSS MORE DETAILED PROGRAM ON RHODESIA
AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT A PLAN IS PUT FORWARD;

E. OUR INCREASED CONFIDENCE THAT A SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND;

F. OUR BELIEF THAT AFRICANS ARE WITHIN SIGHT OF THEIR TWO
OBJECTIVES WITHIN A FIXED TIME FRAME;

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 DAR ES 03280 081621Z

G. EXPLANATION OF POLITICAL REALITIES IN US;

H. NEED TO GRASP THIS OPPORTUNITY BEFORE VIOLENCE ESCALATES;

I. OUR DESIRE THAT, IF POSSIBLE, AFRICANS DETERMINE SINGLE SITE AND AUTHORIZED NEGOTIATOR FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

2. NYERERE SAID HE GREATLY APPRECIATED YOUR MESSAGES WHICH KEPT HIM WELL ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS. HE EXPRESSED PARTICULAR GRATITUDE FOR YOUR WILLINGNESS TO PURSUE EITHER OR BOTH TRACKS.

3. REGARDING NAMIBIA, HE STILL BELIEVES THAT THIS QUESTION PROMISES MOST SUCCESS. IN FACT PRESIDENTS' MEETING WITH SWAPO LASTED ONLY ABOUT AN HOUR. SWAPO WOULD GO TO GENEVA WITH MAJOR CONDITION BEING RELEASE POLITICAL PRISONERS. (WITHOUT SAYING SO DIRECTLY NYERERE CLEARLY INDICATED THAT THIS DOES NOT MEAN ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.)

4. SWAPO WOULD WANT "PREDOMINANT" STATUS, NOT "ONE OUT OF TWENTY.". (IN LATTER CASE IT WOULD PROBABLY WALK OUT.) IT WOULD WANT TO KNOW WHAT ROLE THE UN IS TO PLAY IN THE PROCESS. NYERERE INDICATED HE DID NOT THINK QUESTION OF TROOP WITHDRAWALS WOULD BE STICKING POINT AND THAT INDEPENDENCE DATE WAS NEGOTIABLE. HE ADDED THAT IN GENEVA AFRICANS WILL PROCEED ON ASSUMPTION TALKS ARE BETWEEN SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA. (I INTERJECTED "WITHOUT ASSUMING THAT SAG PROCEEDS ON SAME ASSUMPTION." HE NODDED.) HE ENDED BY SAYING THAT SAM NUJOMA IS WAITING IN DAR NOW TO GO AND "IT LOOKS GOOD;

WE CAN MOVE."

5. REGARDING RHODESIA NYERERE CONFIRMED THAT FIVE PRESIDENTS HAD NOT YET BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN UNIFYING NATIONALIST LEADERS. HOWEVER, THEY WERE ALL STILL HERE AND HE SAID HE IS SOMEWHAT MORE HOPEFUL THAN WHEN WE SPOKE PREVIOUSLY. A PROCESS IS GOING ON AND THE PRESSURE ON THEM CONTINUES. NYERERE SAID HE STRESSED THAT IF MAJORITY RULE COULD BE ACHIEVED THE NATIONALISTS WOULD NOT NOW BE ABLE TO ASSUME POWER. IT WOULD BE SHAMEFUL IF THIS WERE TO OCCUR. ONE LEADER, HE SAID, ACCUSED HIM OF PRESSURING THEM. NYERERE SAID HE TOLD HIM THAT INDEED HE WAS -- TO HELP THEM TAKE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY. (HE ADDED THAT HE HAD REVEALED POSSIBILITIES OF US-UK PRESSURE TO HELP FIND

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 DAR ES 03280 081621Z

SOLUTION TO SOME OF ZIMBABWE LEADERS WHOM HE TRUSTED, INCLUDING THE "MILITARY BOYS", BUT HAD NOT SAID TOO MUCH TO TOO MANY FOR FEAR THEY WOULD "BLOW" THE INITIATIVE.)

6. I TOLD NYERERE THAT, IF I UNDERSTOOD HIM CORRECTLY, HE WANTS US TO PROCEED AT LEAST ON NAMIBIA AND PERHAPS ON RHODESIA AS WELL. HE AGREED. HE SAID YOU ARE ALWAYS WELCOME HERE AND HE LOOKED FORWARD TO SEEING YOU NEXT WEEK. HE STRESSED THAT YOU SHOULD

ALSO SEE PRESIDENT KAUNDA BUT MENTIONED NO ONE ELSE. HE SAID
IF THERE WAS ANY PROGRESS IN THE MEANWHILE, HE WOULD LET
AMBASSADOR SPAIN KNOW.

7. ALTHOUGH I GAVE HIM SEVERAL OPPORTUNITIES HE OBVIOUSLY WISHES
TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY THE QUESTIONS OF WITH WHOM AND WHERE YOU
WOULD CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS IF SOME KIND OF "SHUTTLE" DIPLOMACY
IS REQUIRED. I SUSPECT HE HAS TO CONSULT WITH OTHERS.

8. COMMENT: NYERERE WAS IN GOOD HUMOR AND BUSINESSLIKE. IT
IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS WHETHER ISSUE OF RELEASE OF POLITICAL
PRISONERS COULD BECOME REAL BONE OF CONTENTION. IF SAG CAN
RELEASE SOME IT IS NOT LIKELY TO BE FURTHER OBSTACLE.
"ASSUMPTIONS" (NYERERE'S TERM) ON "PREDOMINANCE" OF SWAPO AND
UN ROLE COULD BE IRRITATING POINTS FOR NIT-PICKING BUT MY GUESS
IS THAT THEY ARE NOT LIKELY TO BECOME POINTS ON WHICH SUCCESS
WOULD TURN.

9. I WAS STRUCK BY FACT THAT NYERERE, WHO HAS ALL ALONG BEEN
DOUBTFUL ABOUT SUCCESS ON RHODESIA, IS NOW SOMEWHAT MORE OPTIMISTIC
THAN IN THE PAST. HE OBVIOUSLY MADE NO PROMISES BUT DID COME BACK
TO THIS SUBJECT SEVERAL TIMES.

10. MY CONCLUSION IS THAT, ON BASIS THIS CONVERSATION, WE CAN
PROCEED WITH YOUR VISIT WITH REASONABLE HOPES FROM AFRICAN PER-
SPECTIVE OF SUCCESS ON NAMIBIA. THERE IS GOOD POSSIBILITY NATION-
ALIST LEADERS WILL STILL BE HERE WHEN YOU ARRIVE.
SPAIN

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